Who were the Saadian Dynasty?

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Who indeed? When investigating this question I found that the Saadi were a powerful ruling dynasty responsible for uniting Morocco in the 16th Century in the face of attempted Ottoman pan-Islamic domination and opportunistic Portuguese imperialism. They left behind them the most impressive surviving monuments in the city of Marrakech, which I shall be visiting next month. Hence my initial query.

I have been to Marrakech before, twelve years ago, but the visit was relatively fleeting and I did not have time to take in its more historic attractions of which the Saadian tombs and Al Badi Palace are the foremost. Memories of the visit to be truthful are a little hazy if you know what I mean and so I am looking forward to re-making its acquaintance in a more cultured frame of mind.
So, anyway, to return to the question at hand: Who were the Saadian Dynasty?

The Saadian Dynasty began as the major power in the south of Morocco, who mounted a challenge both to the incumbent ruling dynasty of the Wattasid Sultanate centred on Fez and to the Portuguese who had established a number of enclaves along the Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts from which they sought to control the hinterland and gain access to the riches of the caravan trade in gold and slaves from Sub-Saharan Africa.

The presence of the Portuguese was a key driver behind the emergence of the Saadi as they put pressure on the tribes to select a leader with whom they could negotiate. This leader was regional strongman Abu Abdullah al Qaim who, rather than proving tractable, united the tribes of the south in jihad against the Portuguese. Following his death in 1517 his eldest son Mohammed ash Sheikh succeeded to his position and took up the mantle of jihad. In 1524 the Saadian forces conquered Marrakech. Three years later Mohammed's rule over the south was acknowledged by the Wattasid regent in Fez, ostensibly as governor, recognising the suzerainity of the Wattasids, but effectively as lord of the south.

The Saadi leader was happy to trade with other European powers in his quest to oust the Portuguese and acquired western gunpowder weapons for his campaigns. In 1541 he turned his weapons against the colony of Agadir. The Saadian forces, bolstered by Ottoman trained freebooters, approached the siege with unexpected professionalism. A Kasbah was constructed atop the hill which dominated the port from which the Saadian artillery could pound away at the Portuguese defences. When a barrel of gunpowder exploded the walls were breached and the city was taken.

In 1549 Mohammed, with the support of the powerful tribe of Banû Râchid, turned his army against the Wattasid capital of Fez which also fell to his artillery. Tlemcen was also taken but could not be held. The city was briefly retaken by the Wattasids five years later with Ottoman assistance from the Pasha of Algiers, Çâlah 'Raïs, but Mohammed marched against them once more and defeated and killed the last Wattasid ruler in the Battle of Tadla fought close to Fez.

Mohammed ash Sheikh was seen as a threat by the Ottomans due to his claim of descent from the Prophet through the Fatimid line. He therefore did not recognise the Ottoman claim to the universal Caliphate and refused to acknowledge the Sultan in Constantinople as his nominal overlord. During a tax gathering expedition in the Atlas mountains on 25 Oct 1557 he was assassinated by his Janissary bodyguards. (sent by Hasan Pasha of Algiers).
Mohammed was succeeded by his son Abdullah al-Ghalib who successfully saw off an attempted Ottoman invasion in the following year. Al-Ghalib's reign was marked by political manoeuvring to

counter Ottoman aggression by seeking alliance with the Spanish. His brothers al-Mansur and Abd al-Malik found themselves exiled during his reign and made their way to the Ottoman court. Both would fight in the Ottoman fleet at Lepanto in 1571. Abd al-Malik was taken prisoner by the Spanish but later escaped and returned to Constantinople. Al Ghalib died from an asthma attack in 1574 to be succeeded by his son Abdullah Mohammed.

In that same year Abd al-Malik arrived in Tunis with an Ottoman invasion fleet and following the successful capture of the port led a force of ten thousand Ottoman troops inland to take Fez, overthrowing his nephew who fled northwards; eventually finding his way to the court of King Sebastian of Portugal.

The 24 year old Sebastian had been raised on dreams chivalric glory combined with Jesuit zeal and the opportunity to lead a military expedition against the infidel, albeit with the aim of restoring Abdullah to the throne was irresistible. The political advantages of expelling the pro-Ottoman Abd al-Malik and replacing him with a Portuguese backed candidate were obvious and so Sebastian set out in 1578 at the head of an army perhaps as large as 20,000 men. It was a mixed force of Portuguese and mercenary troops from all over Europe attracted by the Papal blessing for the expedition and the prospect of loot. The campaign was a complete disaster. At the Battle of Alcacer Quibir, also known as the Battle of the Three Kings, Sebastian's forces, tired and hungry from their march inland from Tangier, nevertheless mounted a bold but reckless charge against a Muslim force which out-numbered them by perhaps as many as three to one. Having initially driven their enemies back, the Portuguese and their allies were ultimately enveloped and overwhelmed by the superior numbers of the enemy, whose crescent formation allowed them to surge around the flanks. Sebastian himself fought furiously, with three horses being killed under him before at last, wounded in the arm, he was surrounded, overwhelmed and cut to pieces.

In the ensuing rout his army was annihilated. It was a disaster for Portugal which ultimately saw the kingdom annexed by Sebastian's uncle, Philip II of Spain.

Abd al-Malik did not live to see his victory however. Already fatally ill at the commencement of hostilities, the Sultan had to be tied onto his horse to keep him upright. By the battle's end he was dead. His brother al-Mansur was declared his successor on the battlefield. The deposed Abdullah Mohammed had also fallen in the battle.

Under Al-Mansur the Saadian dynasty knew its golden age. Enriched by the ransoms of wealthy European prisoners taken at Alcacer Quibir, Al-Mansur was able to beautify his capital of Marrakech, constructing the magnificent Al Badi Palace, the remains of which stand to this day. He was a ruler with imperial ambitions and sought alliances as far afield as England, dispatching envoys to the court of Elizabeth I to seek an alliance against Spain. In 1591 he sent forth an expedition against the gold-rich Songhai Empire of Mali commanded by a Spanish born eunuch named Judar Pasha. This bold enterprise, marching an army of four thousand soldiers and an additional two thousand non-combatants using eight thousand camels to carry their supplies and equipment which included arquebuses and canons on a 135 day crossing of the Sahara, caught the Songhai ruler entirely unprepared. At Tondibi the opposing forces met and the Malian defenders attempted to disrupt the Moroccan lines by sending ten thousand cattle in a stampede towards them. A volley of canon fire sent the stampede back towards the Malian lines and thus their own tactic rebounded upon them. The superior professionalism and firepower of the mostly mercenary Moroccan army carried the day. Reinforcement by a second expedition led to the swift collapse of the Songhai Empire and the occupation of its legendary cities of Gao, Djenne and Timbuktu which the Moroccans would control for the next thirty years before the logistical demands of maintaining such a far flung imperial possession proved too much.

Al Mansur died from the plague in 1603. He was succeeded by two of his sons ruling separately in Marrakech and Fez and so began the inevitable decline of the Saadian Dynasty as twenty five years of civil war beckoned, at the conclusion of which their empire was left fragmented and largely in the hands of local potentates, the Spanish or the Turks.

Charles-Andre Julien. History of North Africa errors

pp. 236 – 246 provides a good synopsis of the 1603 – 1680 period in Morocco but misses the cue with the description of Rabat and the Moriscos. I have substituted Amazigh for Berber.

First, the author notes, and then misses the irony of the fact that Morocco had its boundaries extended to the farthest limits ever under the Saadi al-Mansur in the 1580s – 1590s. The rest of the world were in awe of, and fear of, the suddenly wealthy country – especially the Sultan in Constantinople who feared a competing caliphate coming into existence that would supplant the Ottomans as leaders. Later research has shown that these fears were unfounded – yes, there was an initial period of extravagance but this was realized from the gold stores captured in the conquered areas and not from gold mine production as those remained 75 miles outside of Saadi control – and it was soon exhausted, a fact that al-Mansur carefully hid from the world and his subjects. Their rule over the Sudan deceased thereafter with whatever semblance of suzerainty ending in 1610 – 1612 and that southern area being rent by warring factions. It has never recovered from the onslaught of the armies of al-Mansur. Assisting al-Mansur in achieving these heights was the suspension of the position of *beylerbey* in Algiers in 1588; they had been a consistent, if ineffectual, irritant from where the several feeble, mixed with a couple of 'almost' attempts to take Morocco were launched. The position of Pasha, appointed by the Sultan to the one who paid the most for the position, was invariably variable in their stance on Morocco due, in part, to their limited term of service and the distrust of the populace for these foreigners imposed by an absentee Sultan.

Following this period of greatest geographic extent and blinding wealth came the period of the worst internal wars ever experienced which lasted from 1603 to 1670. Just before he died al-Mansur had his son al-Mamun imprisoned at sword-point in Meknes for his violent and decadent behavior. al-Mamun had been the designated heir in 1581. Upon his death Fez declared for Mulay Zidan while Marrakech declared for Abu Faris. Al-Mamun escaped prison and claimed the title Sultan as well. In 1610 Abu Faris was assassinated by ʿAbd Allah, the son of al-Mamun. The latter, calling in Spanish aid, took Fez and gave them Larache in payment. Zidan fled Fez but took Marrakech, barely hanging on in the face of al-Mamun and the Spaniards. Fez remained independent of Marrakech but was never really under the authority of the Sultan of Fez to any great extent beyond the borders of the town itself. The three main competitors for dominance in the north were the Republic of Bou-Regreg; the marabouts of Dila who were of the Sanhaja confederation; and the marabout Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Zayani, known better as al-Ayashi, who was schooled at the merdrasa in Salé. By 1626 all semblance of the Saadi rule in Fez under al-Mamun had ended. They reconciled with the south under Zidan at Marrakech in that year, the unity lasting but a year as the Sultan of all Morocco died in 1627.

This fratricidal unrest reawoke the intertribal and interethnic tensions that had simmered below the surface for 5 decades – which allowed for the glory of the Saadi too happen. Self-proclaimed religious leaders sprang up everywhere and on all sides. The Arab tribes rose against the sultans and the Amazigh tribes; then it was the Amazigh tribes who rose up as one after a period of intertribal tussling.

Zidan, considered to be the better of the two Sultans, maintained himself at Marrakech from 1610 onward, benefiting from the murder of his brother by his other brother's son. He was driven from his capital 3 times but managed to reclaim the capital each time with the help of the Amazigh tribes – but not the same tribe, which created distrust between him and the tribes. This also showed everyone the weakness of his rule as he could not effectively keep his own capital without outside help. Zidan had captured Marrakech with help of, or possibly at the invitation of, the controlling Hintata tribe in 1610 right after Abu Fares was assassinated by al-Mamun's son early that year. [Makes you wonder if there was some complicity in this act – why didn't al-Mamun take Marrakech?] During times of his involuntary exile from Marrakech, Zidan fled to different areas and secured the aid of the locals. The first time was in 1610 when he marched on Sijilmasa which had declared independence under Abu Mahalli from Tifilalet, a petty scholar from Safi who passed himself off as the Mahdi – the savior who returned to Earth to

minister to all Muslims, in conjunction with Jesus who returned to do the same for all Christians. Mahalli defeated Zidan's army and proceeded to follow the retreating forces, swallowing up everything they touched – and they did not stop at the capital, but ejected Zidan who fled to Safi where he planned to sail south to his home in Sous. It was here that he had his library loaded on a French ship for transport south; instead the captain fearing he would not be paid, stole the library and, in turn, was captured by Spanish pirates giving us the extraordinary opportunity of being able to view what remains of the Royal library, over 60% was lost due to fires and other disasters in the intervening years, at the Escorial. Recovering Marrakech with 'foreign' aid from the Atlas and the Sous in the person of the marabout and saint of Taroudant, Yahya ibn ʿAbd Allah al-Hahi, who beheaded Mahalli, Zidan allowed the head to swing from the ramparts for 12 years. Yahya emboldened with success, claimed the countryside he had overrun as his and he remained the effective ruler of all but the capital city and the port of Safi and a strip of land connecting the town until 1627. Sous came under the control of Abd al-Hasan al-Samlali from Massa in Chtouka Aït Baha province, Sous-Massa region and of the Jazula tribe, heretofore a simple functionary (in the gov't of Zidan?). Sous was Saadi territory since 1511 and their assumption of the rule of the nation brought Sous back into the orbit of the Sultan at Marrakech. Until that is Abd al-Hasan, as Samlali was known, made his appearance on the scene. He ruled over an independent principality that covered Sous and the Anti-Atlas that lasted into the early years of the Alawite dynasty. He was again ejected and this time he fled into the lands of the Dila in mid-Central Morocco who controlled from the mountains to the oceans with the Bou-Regreg being the southern boundary and Salé their capital. Successful in retaking Marrakech, this choice spelled the ruin of the Saadi dynasty. His heirs maintained a tenuous grip on Marrakech and its shrinking dominions until 1659. After this it fell mainly under the control of the Arab Chebanat tribe.

The Dila marabouts had established a zawiya at Khenifra at the end of the 16th century and from there their authority spread and power grew until they controlled the land north of the Bou-Regreg east into the mountains and north almost to Fez. In 1640 their armies defeated those of Sultan Muhammad al-Shaikh al-Asghar and then those of al-ʿAyashi in 1641, killing the marabout in the fray. While ruling all of the north, they had their own nemesis at hand – the Alawite *shurfa* from Tifilalet. (*Shurfa*, pl. of sharif, meaning descent from the Prophet). In the end it would come down to the oases *shurfa* folk versus the Amazigh marabouts.

In 1671 Al-Rashid successfully raided the Sous, defeating the al-Samlali heirs of Abd al-Hasan [Dictionary], but did not hold the place then. He was followed by his brother Mulay Ismaʿil in 1672 who was harassed by his brother Mulay al-Harran from Tifilalet and nephew Ahmad ibn Mahriz from Marrakech. He took Marrakech in June of that year but lost it to ibn Mahriz again. After capturing it a second time after a 2-year siege he sacked the city in June 1677. A decade later saw both his brother and nephew dead and the Sous finally fell after the massacre of all the inhabitants of the former Saadi capital at Taroudant.

Moulay Brahim Bouchra, "Taroudant In modern times," (n.d.) https://www.academia.edu/6361016/Taroudant_In_modern_times_Under_the_Saadians [accessed 7 July 2020]

Taroudant In modern times

Under the Saadians:

Taroudant began its golden age, in 920 AH (1515), when it pledged allegiance to the Saadians. The city became their first capital. Emir Sheikh Mohamed Saadi proceeded to fortify the city and endowed it with luxurious buildings. He was awarded the city which was, incidentally, called Mohammedia.

The city was mentioned many times in texts written by historians of that time, reflecting how important it was to the Saadians and the role it played during this historic period.

It had a significant role along with the other Moroccan cities. It was the first Saadian capital and played a major military role. Fortified, it was used to assemble Saadian strengths and any other possible tribes on their side, in view of fighting against the occupation of the Moroccan coast by the Portuguese.

It experienced an unprecedented economic boom. It became the transit point for caravan trade where Muslims and European traders and, in particular, the English gathered. Its produce was popular: copper utensils, woolen fabrics, leather articles and especially its sugar production which the English palate loved. The development of trade was responsible for the success of local crafts and the sugar industry surrounding the town of

Taroudant, especially at Ouled Massoud and Tazmourt. Based on a British spy's report dated 25th October 1596, an historian, points out that the sugar industry generated more than 800,000 mitkals a year for Sultan Al Mansour.

Along with its economic development, the city of Taroudant experienced a rapid increase in urban development producing prestigious buildings to such an extent that it exceeded Fez and Marrakech.

The development of culture and science was also an asset to the city and jamâa EL Kébir (the Great Mosque) was one of the largest universities of that period, where the greatest scholars of the sixteenth century taught their sciences. Included among them were Saïd Ibn Ali AL Houzali, Abderhman Ibn Amrou AL Baakili, Aïssa Ibn Abderhman Souktani, etc.

Henceforth, in the sixteenth century the city of Taroudant reached its apogee and achieved fame. But in the next century, it was struck by a plague epidemic that decimated its inhabitants. Sultan Ahmed AL Mansour himself died of the plague in 1012 AH 1603. Most of the survivors fled and the city was abandoned. This was the beginning of the decline for the Saadian dynasty. Ahmed AL Mansour's descendants fought over the throne and Morocco was subdivided into two kingdoms, whose capitals were Fez and Marrakech. Within the Marrakech kingdom, Taroudant was a key location. It was here that Sultan Ibn Zaydan AL Mansour took refuge. Afterwards, Taroudant experienced a period of independence.

Taroudant and the break-up of the kingdom:

Taroudant remained loyal to the Sultan Saâdien Zaydan. He took refuge there after his defeat against the Algerian Turks in 1604. He returned there to gather and reorganize his forces in 1607 after his defeat against the forces of his nephew, Abdullah Ibn Al Mamoun, in Marrakech. He returned again in 1613 when he was expelled from Marrakech by the rebel Ibn Abu Mahali. He found refuge in Taroudant where he knew his wives and fortune would be safe. This rebellion was subdued and the Sultan regained his throne thanks to the people of Taroudant and the surrounding tribes mobilised behind Sheikh Abu Zakaria Yahya AL Hahi. But due to a disagreement between the Sheikh and the Sultan, the Sheikh in turn rebelled and proclaimed himself Emir of the city of Taroudant and its surroundings. Thus, in 1613 the Emirate of Hahis came into being and lasted until 1629. Up until his death in 1626, its founder, Yahia Abdallah Ibn, tried to expand his sphere of influence at the expense of Sultan Zaydan of Marrakech and Abou hassoun Semlali from the Iligh region.

During his rule, the Emirate of Taroudant enjoyed stability and intellectual development since Yahia was a religious scholar and well-known Sufi whose principles were to pursue good at the expense of evil according to the precepts of Shariah.

His rival, the Emir of Iligh, Abu Hassoun Semlali was waiting for the right opportunity to extend his influence over Taroudant, but he had to wait until Yahia died and only succeeded in defeating the city in 1629. He was tyrannical and the Roudanis suffered from the practices of his Walis.

In 1670, Moulay Rachid put an end to their reign by destroying their capital, Iligh. Thus, Taroudant came under the influence of the Alaouite dynasty.

Taroudant under the Alaouites:

Taroudant was the residence of the Sultan's Khalifa, who belonged to the Alaouites family. But since the city had large economic resources and was a strategic location between the Grand Atlas and Anti-Atlas, the Wali was sometimes tempted to proclaim its independence in relation to the central power.

In 1685, Sultan Moulay Ismael besieged the city to fight his brother Moulay AL Harane and his nephew Moulay Ahmed, who had settled in Taroudant by capturing the rich region of Souss. He ended this rebellion in 1687.

Moulay Mohamed Al Alim was appointed Wali by his father the Sultan Moulay Ismaël. The city regained its stability and its intellectual and literary activity continued unabated. But in 1702, he rebelled against his father, who sent his other son Moulay Zidane to retake the city. After three years of siege and fighting, the rebels surrendered.

In 1721, Moulay Abdelamlek was appointed Wali. He remained in Taroudant until the death of his father and was proclaimed Sultan of Morocco after his brother Ahmed Addahabi was ousted by the Boukharis army.

After a period of unrest that followed the death of Moulay Ismaë, Moulay Mohamed Ibn Abdallah conquered the Souss and used Taroudant as a military base. Here, he appointed his relatives including his son Moulay Abdessalam in 1785.

Thus, throughout this period Taroudant was the residence of the Pachats, the military chiefs who represented the central power in Sous. And yet Taroudant had lost many of its roles and charm due to wars and conflicts, especially during the 17th and 18th century which led to the destruction of the foundations of its economic wealth and, in particular, its sugar industry.

Henceforth, Taroudant's riches were dependant on the cultivation of olive trees which provided a source of wealth for the Roudanais. It also had skilful and talented artisans who worked in the textile industry, the tannery and leather industry despite competition from European products.

In his "khilala Jazoula" encyclopaedia, Elmokhtar Soussi produced a list of the military chiefs that ruled Taroudant before the Protectorate. Among them were: Elcaïd Mohamed Yahya Aghnaj, who remained in Taroudant until 1821, then Elcaïd Hoummad Boumehdi Alhouari, whose power spread from Taroudant and Agadir to Souktana and Oued Noun.

Afterwards, Taroudant acknowledged the presence of several military chiefs, the most famous of which were: the Pasha Mohamed Ben Bouchta Iben Elbaghdadi who later became famous in Fes, the famous Pâcha Hammou who had died there in 1900, the Pacha Elkabba who rebelled under Hida Muess's authority. The latter ruled again after the defeat of Ahmed El hiba by the French army. Taroudant experienced very difficult times under the authority of indigenous affairs officers who represented the protectorate.

The national awakening of the "Jeunes Roudanais" lead them to join the "Istiklal" party (the independence party). During the fifties, the national movement experienced a turning point and opted for armed resistance. Among the leaders of this resistance were: Moulay H'fid Elouatir, Si Mohamed ben Ibrahim Bourhan- Eddine, Elhaj Hassan Loudaïi, Moulay Rachid Semlali, Elhaj Mahfoud Sidki, etc.

After independence, they led a very active political life and made huge sacrifices that would contribute to the great democratic change in contemporary Morocco.

From Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr ibn Muḥammad Ifrānī. Auteur du texte. Nozhet-elhâdi : Histoire de la dynastie saadienne au Maroc, 1511-1670. Octave Victor Houdas (trans) (Paris: Ernest Leroux, Angers : Imprimerie Burdin et Compagnie, 1888.)

pp. 406 – 407: Maulay Elouali̇̂d ben Zîdân was very generous after the assassination of his brother Maulay Abdelmalek ben Zîdân on 10 March 1631. However, he destroyed the greatest number *de chérifs, ses frères et ses cousins, [of chérifs, his brothers and cousins, and imprisoned …* should this be interpreted as 2 separate groups or that the *chérifs* were his *brothers and cousins?*] and imprisoned his brother Mohammed Eccheikh Elasgher, because he feared to see them revolt against him and dispute his royal claim. [*Recall that he had been imprisoned by Abdelmalek under the same premises*].

During his lifetime there was a great increase in food. On 9 April 1627 a great earthquake hit at daybreak and on 21 April 1627 a violent hailstorm hit with hailstones the size of chicken eggs. It is said that these hailstones remained for three days without melting. [*this should be in the section on Zaydan's death; not here]*

p. 405 He [Abdelmalek] had so little restraint that one day, on the occasion of the birth of one of his children, and under the pretext of giving more splendor to the ceremony of the seventh day (a name for the newborn is bestowed on the 7th day), he sent for the women in his palace, notables from Morocco and its senior officials. When they arrived, he climbed a tower of the palace and began to examine all those women who had taken off their sails and their mantles, then he brought to his apartments all those which pleases him.

p. 408: Mohammed Eccheikh became Sultan on 22 February 1616. However his armies were not happy and his troops could never hold the enemy; so he failed to maintain the integrity of his empire and had to resort to exercising his authority only on Marrakech and the province of that name.

p. 423: There was war between Mohammed Eccheikh Elasgher and the Dila of the Zaouia, an encounter that ended in the rout of the prince after having been defeated in the battle Bou-Aqba, one of the fords of Ouâdî Elabîd. In the presence of this hostility of zaouia of Eddilâ whose authority silently increased in the Maghreb and grew stronger each day by men and armaments, Mohammed Eccheikh, who felt that he could not stand up to them, nor break their power, ceased to fight against these rebels; he did not worry them more and seemed to want to live in peace with them, without more of the situation they had created. The Chi'dhema tribe revolted in its turn; the sultan marched against them, but in the battle he fought near the Jebel Elhadid, he was shamefully defeated.

p.424: Mohammed ben Eccherif Elhasani Essidjilmassi was proclaimed sovereign in Fez. [when??]

p.427: Mohammed Eccheikh died 1653/4

p. 430: Were they Sultans? A distinction should be made between the title of *malek* and that of *solthân*. Ibn Fadhallah, in his book Kitdb elmesdlik, reports on this subject the opinion of Ali ben Said. Technology, says the latter, allows the title of *solthân* to be given only to a prince who has under his control other rulers (malek), for example, if he has under his authority Egypt, Syria, Ifriqiya or Andalusia and that it has about 10,000 fighters/knights. If it has more territory or a larger army, its power being greater, it will be necessary to apply to it [*the land*?] the title of *Essolthân-Eladham*. [*sultanate?]*

If several countries make the prayer in his name, for example, Egypt, Syria and Mesopotamia; or Khorassan, Iraq and Persia; or Ifriqiya, the Middle Maghreb and Andalusia; the sovereign will take the title of *Solthân -Esselathin*. This is from Essoyouthi's book Hosn elmohddhardt. [*The author stops there and shares no opinion on whether or not the Saadi were true sultans; of course there are a multitude of definitions that exist that support concepts different than these*.]

Le Tourneau Roger. Histoire de la dynastie sa'dide. Extrait de al-Turguman al-mu'rib 'an duwal al-Masriq wal Magrib d'Abû al Qâsim ben Ahmad ben 'Ali ben Ibrahim al-Zayyânî. Texte, traduction et notes présentés par L.Mougin et H. Hamburger. In: *Revue de l'Occident musulman et de la Méditerranée,* n°23, 1977. pp. 7-109;
doi : https://doi.org/10.3406/remmm.1977.1402
https://www.persee.fr/doc/remmm_0035-1474_1977_num_23_1_1402

Pdf p. 11

These holy characters have their origin in Higâz. Their ancestor Ahmad b. Muhammad b. al-Qâsim arrived in Morocco during the 12th century and settled in Dar'a in the canton of Tâgmâdârt; he married there and had children who grew up in the Dar'a and took root there. Tâgmâdârt was located in the middle valley of the Oued Dar'a, near present-day Zagora. [See Ch. De Foucauld. *Reconnaissance au Maroc*, (Paris, Société d'éditions géographiques, maritimes et coloniales, 1888), pp. 292-293; nouveau tirage 1934.] According to Foucauld the district was also called *Fazwâta* but investigations in 1953 indicate this name applied to the ruins of the fortress on the left bank of Dar'a which dominated Zagora.

Here is his genealogy: Ahmad b. Muhammad b. al-Qâsim b. Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Hasan b. 'Abd Allah b. Abu Muhammad b. 'Arafa b. al-Hasan b. Abu Bakr b. 'Ail b. Hasan b. Ahmad b. Ismâ'īl b. Qâsim b. Muhammad al-Mahdī (the well-guided) b. 'Abd Allah al Kâmil (the perfect) b. al-Hasan al-Mutannâ (second of the name; is one of the Hasans the first? If so, which one? If not, where is the first?) b. al-Hasan al-Sibt (the Prophet's grandson) b. 'Alī b. Abu Tâlib.

The 'b.' means *son of* and represents another generation; hence the 22 generations are:

Ahmad b.

Muhammad b.

al-Qâsim b.

Muhammad b.

Muhammad (http://fabpedigree.com/s000/f724416.htm) b.

(note the descent given on this site is continued through a different son Abou al-Qâsim)

Hasan (http://fabpedigree.com/s000/f724416.htm) b.

'Abd Allah b.

Abu Muhammad b.

'Arafa b.

al-Hasan b.

Abu Bakr (http://fabpedigree.com/s000/f181312.htm) b.

'Ail b.

Hasan b.

Ahmad b.

Ismâ'īl b.

Qâsim (http://fabpedigree.com/s038/f150971.htm; note there are 2 pedigrees on this site) b.

Muhammad al-Mahdī (the well-guided) b.

'Abd Allah al Kâmil (the perfect; http://fabpedigree.com/s016/f831084.htm) b.

al-Hasan al-Mutannâ (the second of this name) b.

(Mother was Kholah bint Manzur ibn Zaban ibn Sayyar Fazari;

see https://www.mehrnews.com/news/2172131/عبـــدالله-خردسال-آخرین-یاری-امام-حسین-ع-در-روز-عاشورا-جریان-ازدواج)

According to http://www.islamquest.net/en/archive/question/ur21439: Hasan bin Hasan was Imam Hasan Mujtaba's second son. His mother was Khawla who was the daughter of Manzur Fazariyah. Hasan bin Hasan better known as Hasan al-Muthanna was a nobleman, a virtuous and God-fearing son of the second Imam (AS). He was in charge of alms given by Imam 'Ali (AS). He took part in the rebellion of 'Abd al-Rahman bin Muhammad against Hajjaj bin Yusuf. It is said that he lived until the time of Abdul Malik bin Marwan's government. He was present in the event of Karbala alongside his uncle, Imam Hussein (AS).
According to reports by some reporters, Hasan al-Muthanna was martyred in 97 A.H. in the time of Sulayman bin Marwan's government. It seems from historical accounts that he lived 53 years. Keeping in view these dates, it can, therefore, be said that he was 17 years old in the event of Karbala. Thus, considering that Hazrat Qasim is said to have been 13 years old on the day of Ashura, we must say that Hasan al-Muthanna was four years older than Qasim. He did not fall short of defending his Imam. Although according to some sources, Hasan bin Hasan was thirty five when he died, it seems a mistake has taken place in the dates in the sense that the number 53 has been mistakenly placed as 35.
Hasan bin Hasan was among the captives of Karbala. He had been injured in the battle. It is said that Asma bin Khareja separated him from among the captives and took care of him. As for Hasan al-Muthanna's marriage, it has been reported that he asked his uncle, Imam Hussein (AS) for the hand of one of his daughters in marriage to him. The Imam replied: "Choose one of my two daughters whom you like to marry." But Hasan al-Muthanna did not respond on account of modesty. Imam Hussein (AS) chose Fatima for him and said: "She is more like my mother Hazrat Fatima (SA) than any other of my daughters." After his death, his wife erected a tent on his grave and she engaged in worshipping for a year." Hasan bin al-Hasan never claimed to be an Imam and no one has claimed that he was an Imam.
Sayyid bin Tavus writes about the merit and nobility of Hasan bin Hasan and some other children of Imam Hasan (AS): "These are people whose lofty position and merit all Muslims acknowledged".
According to a part of a narration reported from Imam Reza (AS) about the continuation of the offspring of Imam Hasan and Imam Hussein, peace be upon them, it is inferred that Hasan al-Muthanna had many children and Imam Hasan's offspring continued through him and another brother of his named Zaid. It has been reported in this tradition: "Hasan bin Ali's offspring continued through two of his sons named Zaid and Hasan. Zaid had a son whose name was Hasan. Also, Hasan al-Muthanna had sons named Abdullah, Ibrahim, Dawood, Ja'far and Hasan, better known as Hasan asl-Muthallath, who continued a third generation of Imam Hasan (AS)."

al-Hasan al-Sibt (the Prophet’s grandson, Hasan ibn Ali; http://fabpedigree.com/s028/f701130.htm) b.

see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hasan_ibn_Ali)

'Alī b.

Abu Tâlib.

See Ahmad Ibn al-Qâdī, *Gadwat al-iqtibâs* (édition lithographiée, Fès, 1309 H.) and *Durrat al-higâl* [édition J.-S. Allouche, 2 vol., Rabat, F. Moncho 1934-36 (Collection de textes arabes publiés par l'Institut des Hautes Études marocaines, IV et V)] The genealogy used here is from the *biography of*

Ahmad al Mansûr, t. 1, no. 148, p. 51. Unclear if this is the title or a description as there is no citation included.

The Sa'adiens were the object of incessant attacks on behalf of the Cherifs of TâfiIâlt who were loath to be linked with them by the origin as is the family tree which has just been cited. Here is what Sayh Ibn Sûda said: "I heard our sayh Abu l-'Abbâs al-Maqqari say that he had found, written in the hand of Imâm Ibn 'Arafa, the authentic proof of their filiation (as it has just been indicated) ". Here is what Abû-Zayd al-Fâsi, [aka Abd al-Rahman al-Fâsi, 17th century Moroccan scholar] says about it, which must be consulted with caution: "What is for me established according to the authority of my uncle Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad b. 'AIi, who himself relied on the authority of his uncle Abû-l-'Abbâs, son of sayh Abû-l-Mahâsin, is that they were descendants of al-'Abbas b. al-Muttalib (uncle of the Prophet): it is to him that they trace their genealogy ". Others said that they were descended from the Banû Sa'd, tribe of the Prophet's nurse - on him prayer and salvation - Halima al-Sa'diyya.

When Al-Zayyânî' put the question of the alleged sharifian descent of the Saadians to the late Sidi Muhammad b. Abd Allah he said "*Shut up, he said to me, and say no more like that: they are our brothers and our cousins; their ancestor and ours are one and the same person, as their canton and ours â Yanbû 'are only one and the same canton which bears the name of Banû Ibrahim. Their ancestor Ahmad emigrated to the Magrib about thirty years before our ancestor Hasan; these two men were brothers. But (the Sa'diens), when they had power, did not treat us as brothers: they limited themselves to giving us marks of consideration, honor and deference; so our deceased ancestors resented them for this casualness towards us and the lack of interest they showed towards us; it is this which motivated the attacks of our ancestors concerning their genealogy. But the truth must prevail and no one will dispute their genealogy except the ignorant or those without genealogy skills*."

Skipped to pdf p. 14:

The descendants of these holy characters emigrated and settled in the Sous where their posterity was numerous. The first to settle there was' Ali b. Mahlûf. When his fame spread and his pupils became numerous, the Huwara built for him the zâwiya of **Tidsi** in their country '; he provided food for the students there. Here is his genealogy: 'Ali b. Mahlûf b. Zaydan b. Ahmad the immigrant. 'Ali succeeded Abd al-Rahmàn and' Abd al-Rahmân was succeeded by Muhammad al-Qâ'im. **Abd al-Rahmân, grandfather (of the first Sa'dian rulers)** was a scholar who taught little children the Book of God. He had a son named Muhammad who had an excellent education and worked hard, so that he acquired a good baggage of knowledge. He had two sons, Ahmad and Muhammad, who grew up with him and followed his lessons until the day they came of age.

1/ The Splendor and Richness of the Saadian Palace El Badi

The name El Badi means “the incomparable”, one of the 99 names given to God. The palace complex El Badi, or Ksar Badii in Arabic, is located in the northeast of the Kasbah of the Almohad, in the Mellah district of Marrakech, near the Sultan’s private palace. The function of El Badi Palace is above all political: to show the Sultan’s power with a sumptuous decoration and an unequalled size has even to impress the Elite of the kingdom as much as the foreign embassies visiting Morocco during the hearings.

Inspired by the Alhambra Palace in Granada, Spain, the most beautiful materials are used to build the Palace: cedar wood from the Atlas, Carrara marble from Italy, ceramics from Spain, gold from Sudan, jade from China, onyx from France, ivory from black Africa… The best craftsmen from Morocco work on the Palace site. Foreign architects and craftsmen are also involved in the project. It is reported that the Sultan was generous with the manpower employed.

The main door of the palace complex is called bab al rokham, a marble door, and opens in the southwest corner of the palace, on the Kasbah side.

A system of corridors and underground rooms allowed the servants to circulate without being seen. The basements also included hammams, kitchen and a prison.

A central heating system was installed in the floor of the pavilions.

21 Courtyards and Basins

The inner courtyard is 135m long and 110m wide with a 90m long by 20m wide pool in the center.

In its center is a monumental fountain. Four flowerbeds below are planted by fruit tree. In the 4 corners of the palace , they are 4 pools of 30m x 10m.

22 Green and heliotrope pavilions

On each side of the 2 crystal pavilions and audiences, on the perimeter of the courtyard of the palace el badi are built two large pavilions. The green pavilion and the heliotrope. Bordered by a long open gallery with a large surface area, these pavilions included the spaces intended for the residence of visitors and ambassadors.

23 Audience pavilion and crystal pavilion

Overhanging a richly decorated wooden dome and flanked by small cooling basins on the ground, these two pavilions were frequented by the Sultan. The audiences pavilion to receive embassies and visitors, the crystal pavilion for private use. Both are almost identical in style with zellige floors and flanked by 2 rows of marble columns.

24 Sultan’s Private Residence

Called a summer residence, this residence was used as private accommodation by the Sultan. Much smaller in size than the sumptuous palaces of el badi, the summer residence adjoined the palace on its southern façade, along the current royal palace.

2/ War of the 3 Kings

Moulay Abdallah al Ghalib Billah left the throne to his own son, Mohammed al moutaouakil, after his death. But as the throne had to return to the groin of the male brothers, in the person of Abd El Malek, brother of Abdallah al Ghalib Billah, there followed a violent war of succession.

Abd El Malek joined his forces with the Turks, present in Algiers, to regain power in 1576. Mohammed al moutaouakil joined forces with the Portuguese to try to drive out his uncle Abd El Malek. The famous war of the 3 kings, battle of Alcacer Quibir or Battle of the wadi al-Makhazin on August 4, 1578, followed.

During the summer of 1578, the Portuguese and Mohammed al moutaouakil invaded northern Morocco. On August 4 they opposed Abd El Malek allied to the Ottomans. It was a defeat for the Portuguese army and the battle ended in the death of Abd El Malek, Mohammed al moutaouakil and Sebastian I, king of Portugal. It is under these conditions that Abu Abbas Ahmed, brother of the late ruler Abd-al-Malek, accedes to the throne and becomes the 5th Saadian Sultan Ahmed el Mansour "the victorious" after his 20-year exile in the Ottoman Empire and Algiers.

3/ The splendor of El Badi Palace & the influence of the Saadian dynasty

Portugal lost its independence by being annexed by the Kingdom of Spain and its nobles had to pay large ransoms for the purchase of its warriors taken prisoner by Morocco. Sultan Ahmed El Mansour (the victorious) thus took the nickname of El Dahabi (the golden one). Morocco enjoys immense prestige in Europe by becoming a great power on its borders.

The army was modernized along the lines of the Ottoman Empire, maintaining order and collecting taxes. In Fez, the sultan is represented by a viceroy. Many embassies visit Marrakech. Tensions between the Cherifian kingdom and the Ottoman empire ended. Morocco extends from Tangier to Niger, below the sub-Saharan region. The rich gold deposits of Western Nigerian Sudan, conquered in 1590, pass through Marrakech and provide Morocco with a considerable enrichment by being used for coinage.

Finally, the sugar cane trade in the Souss Valley, from Marrakech to Chichaoua, provides resources. One kilo of sugar is then exchanged for the same weight of marble. In England, the Trade Company of Barbaria (Moroccan) imports many goods from Morocco.

Sultan Ahmed el Mansour reigns absolutely, maintaining the country and the unity of the kingdom. Foreign policy allows many sub-Saharan, Turkish and European influences to enter. In the cultural, artistic and architectural fields, many sumptuous and far-reaching projects are being undertaken. It is in this context that El Badi Palace, the center of power of an immense empire, displays a luxury and splendor unparalleled to the glory of Sultan El Mansour.

Cory, Stephen. "Sharīfian rule in Morocco (tenth twelfth/sixteenth eighteenth centuries," The New Cambridge History of Islam Volume 2 The Western Islamic World Eleventh to Eighteenth Centuries. Maribel Fierro, ed. (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, England; 2011) pp. 453 – 479.

p. 457

Muhammad al-Shaykh relied upon Turkish mercenary troops as a key element in his army, Muhammad al-Shaykh had poor relations with the Ottoman government. He was not pleased when the Ottomans backed the Wattasids in opposition to his own bid for power. Al-Shaykh showed this distaste through frequent verbal slights of Ottoman claims to leadership in the Islamic world. He clearly implied his own superiority through derisive references to the Ottoman sultan as 'The Sultan of the Fishermen' and his statement that he would meet the Ottomans in Cairo. It was for such swagger as this, put into action when Muhammad al-Shaykh briefly conquered Tlemcen on the western borders of Ottoman territory, that Süleyman the Magnificent had the Sadı leader assassinated in 964/1557.

Muhammad al-Shaykh was succeeded by his eldest son, Abd Allah al-Ghalib. His brothers Abd al-Mumin, Abd al-Malik and Ahmad fled Morocco together and took up residence with the Turks in Algiers. Even at this distance, al-Ghalib was able to arrange for the assassination of Abd al-Mumin.

When the sultan passed away after a seventeen-year reign, the pathway appeared clear for his eldest son, Muhammad al-Mutawakkil, to take his place as ruler.

Abd al-Malik established positive connections with top Ottoman officials.

p. 458

He persuaded the Ottomans to outfit him with an army, which he led to victory over al-Mutawakkil outside of Fez in 983/1576. Abd al-Malik's spies had assured him that there was considerable receptivity to his return in Morocco, and they managed to persuade a sizeable battalion of tribal warriors to desert al-Mutawakkil in the heat of battle. Triumphant at last, Abd al-Malik marched into Fez as the new Sadi sultan, while assigning his younger brother, Ahmad, to capture al-Mutawakkil, who had fled south to the Sus. After a year of skirmishes in the south, the deposed sultan escaped north again, making it to Asila, whence he sailed to Portugal. Unable to rally sufficient support in Morocco to reinstall himself as sultan, and permanently alienated from the Ottomans, al-Mutawakkil sought help from the only available source, the Portuguese Christian infidels and their young king, Don Sebastian.

Ahmad al-Mansur: Ahmad was the only sultan to rule the entire country between the collapse of Marinid power in the early fifteenth century and the establishment of Alawi authority in the late seventeenth century.

p. 459

He promoted himself as a Sharıfian Arab caliph in contrast to the Ottomans, who were neither shurafa nor Arab, and therefore (according to al-Mansur) not worthy for the caliphate.

p. 460

al-Mansur added to this income source a considerable amount of ransom money obtained for thousands of European prisoners of war in the years following the battle of Wadi al-Makhazin. Military might allowed him to collect taxes throughout the country on a more regular basis than his predecessors.

al-Mansur vividly connected Sharıfian lineage to caliphal authority to a degree that had not been seen since the Fatimid rulers of Cairo. Such assertions automatically set the Sadi state in opposition to the larger Ottoman dynasty, which also claimed the right to lead the Islamic world.

p. 461

He used his position as rightful caliph over the Islamic world to justify an invasion of the neighbouring Muslim Songhay dynasty in West Africa, and seems to have accepted an oath of allegiance from the Bornu of Central Africa. Mawlay Ahmad also made alliances and sought to promote himself as an Arab alternative to the Ottomans in eastern provinces such as Egypt.

The Alawis disputed the authenticity of the Sharıfian lineage of the Saadi.

al-Mansur's heir apparent, Muhammad al-Shaykh al-Mamun, turned out to be corrupt and incompetent.

p. 462

al-Mamun was in prison when his father died, so that the sultanate was available to whichever Saadi contender could overpower the others.

Fitna:

As the sultan's three sons and two of his grandsons battled for supremacy, the country descended into a long and destructive period of fitna.

My notes:

The official history of Morocco as promoted by the government has Saadi rule being, relatively, peacefully replaced by that of their beloved cousins, the Alawites. This fairy-tale version overlooks the extensive slaughter by the Alawites, especially of the Amazigh Dilawites and at Taroudant.

1511 Saadi become leaders of Sous and Dra at the insistence of the people after el-Mobaraka refuses and points them to the Saadi.

At the beginning of 1522 near Safi Nuno Mascarenhas, captain of Safi and builder of Aguz castle, had been captured by the Saadian *of Marrakech(?)*; obtained freedom by leaving his two sons as hostages until payment of the balance. However his 12 yo son died before being liberated and the surviving son Joao claims they were poisoned but it was more likely the plague. Nuno himself dies of the plague on 31 Oct 1522 in Portugal. [Rosenberger & Trike, "Plagues…."]

MOHAMMED AL-CHEIKH AL-SHARIF AL-HASSANI AL-DRAWI AL-TAGMADERTI (1488 – 1557): is found named as Mohammed al-Mahdi in several sources and is credited with bringing Marrakech back to prominence. It had last been the capital under the Almoravids in the 10th century. Under the Almohds, Merenids & Wattasids, the city was ignored and neglected. It served as a local 'capital' for the Hintata tribe when the Saadi came to power. The Hintata 'welcomed' the Saadi and gladly relinquished the city to them to be their new capital when they relocated there from Taroudant in 1551. "Gladly" only came after two of the Hintata leaders were killed by the Saadians. The 'al-Mahdi' addition is not well documented to have been used by him and may be a later addition. Al-Mansur definitely did refer to himself as 'al-Mahdi' – the Muslim savior of the world at the end of times – 1000 AH = 1591 CE.

Mohammed al-Sheick After 1659 it was the Dila marabout Mohammed al-Hajj ibn Abu Bakr al-Dila'i who was the Sultan of Morocco. He had been proclaimed Sultan of Fez in 1641. His rule continued, possibly interrupted in 1663 by Aawite incursions, until his death in 1671. He was followed by his brother Abu Abdallah Mohammed al-Hajj ibn Mohammed ibn Mohammed ibn Abd-al-Rahman ibn Abu Bakr al-Dilai, also known as Muhammad al-Hajj and as Al-Murabit, who assumed the title Sultan of Morocco, possibly until his death in 1678. This Amazigh reign was maintained for a variable number of years depending on your source. In 'official' government sources it was zero years, in Dilawite dominated areas it was 30+ years; the truth lies somewhere between. One semi-official goes like this: in 1663 the Alawite began their move: they made a brief incursion against the Sultan at Fez that year; in 1664 Mulay al-Rashid defeated and killed his brother Mulay Muhammad, then leader of the Alawite. In 1668 al-Rashid defeated the Dila and destroyed their zawiya (and claim to have taken the Sultanate of Fez but this is not certain) and in 1669 defeated el-Ghailian and took his northern controlled lands. That same year he defeated the Chebanat of Marrakech where he slaughtered most of them; in 1670 the fortress of Iligh fell along with Sous. He claims to have not wanted to take Salé, continuing to enjoy his % of the booty while remaining blameless in international law. However this conveniently overlooks several things – first, the Republic never paid the Sultan any % no matter what the government claims; second, the defeat of the Dila would necessarily imply the fall of their capital at Salé but even in this version, this is not what happened. Al-Rashid died from a fractured skull sustained in 1672 when he his horse bolted, slamming him into an orange tree in Marrakech during a revolt fomented by his nephew in that city.

Dila, aka Aït Iddia (Tamazight). Their zawiya was base for the Idrassen and other Sanhaja groups from the Middle Atlas Mtns in 16th century founded by Abû Bakar, a disciple of the Shadili-Jazuli doctrine. They originated from the Mejjat tribe of the Idrassen that settled between Tounfit and Midelt in the 15th c. Moved to SW of Khenifra where they gained prominence as mediators of inter-tribal dispute nd religious teachers. In 1557 they were granted special status with tax exemptions and the corvée by the Saadi. In 1630 they extended their authority over the Andalusians of Salé (*but not the others?*); in 1638 they defeated the Saadi forces at the battle near Oued al Abid; conquered Meknes, Fez, Sais plain, and the Gharb; by 1651 they controlled all the important centers in the country and they signed a treaty with the Dutch in that year. The Dila were challenged by the Alawite tribe from Tafilalet first in an unsuccessful challenge when the residents of Fez invited Muhammad Ibn Sharif to be their leader in 1649; in 1660 Salé revolted; in 1664 their leader Moulay Muhammad was killed. The Alawites defeated the Dila in

1668 and razed their lodges. The survivors were exiled to Tlemcen or took refuge in Fez. [Hsain Ilahiane. Historical Dictionary of the Berbers. (Toronto, Scarecrow Press; 2006) p. 38]

From 1659 to at least 1673 the Sultan of Morocco was Muhammad al-Hajj, a Dilaite marabout.

HOUSE OF SAADI

LEADERS AND GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS UPDATED VERSION IS IN "BOOK JAN JANSEN VAN HAARLEM" FILE

MOHAMMED AL-SHEIKH AL-SHARIF AL-HASSANI AL-DRAWI AL-TAGMADERTI
aka MOHAMMED AL-SHEIKH
1ST Emir of Morocco 1544 – 1557 (called the 1st Sultan of Morocco)
Chamberlains: ALI BEN ABÛ BEKR AZÎKÎ ELHÂHÎ *and* MOUSSA BEN DJOMÂDA ELGHOMRÎ.
Fez Cadi: ABÛ HASSOÛN ALI BEN AHMED ELAKHSÂSÎ. (*Cadi* or *Cadi al-Jamâ*: community magistrate)
Marrakech Cadi: ABÛ ALI ELHASEN BEN ABÛ BEKR ESSEDJTÂNI.

1. MOHAMMED ELHARRÂN
2. ABÛ MOHAMMED ABDELQÂDER; vizier to father, d. 1552.
3. ABÛ MEROUAN ABDELMALEK ELGHÀZÎ-FI-SEBÎL-ALLA
4. ABDALLAH AL-GHALIB BILLAH 2ND Emir of Morocco 1557 – 1574
   Fez cadi: ABÛ MALEK ABDELOUÂHED BEN AHMED ELHAMÎDI (AL-HĀMIDI)
5. ABÛ ABDALLAH MOHAMMED II*; aka* AL-MUTAWAKKIL or ABDALLAH MOHAMMED
   3rd Emir of Morocco 1574 – 1576; d. 1578
6. MULAY EN-NASER (imprisoned by AL-MUTAWAKKIL1574)
7. *Unnamed son* (assassinated by AL-MUTAWAKKIL1574)
8. ABÛ MARWAN ABD AL-MALIK I; *aka* ABD AL-MALIK or MULAY ABDELMALEK
   4th Emir of Morocco 1576 – 1578
9. AHMAD IBN AL-HÛSSÎN ruled the Draa Valley as AL-MANSUR'S agent
10. ABÛ SAÏD OTSMÂN
11. ABOUSSAÂDA ABDELMOUMEN
12. ABÛ HAFS OMAR
13. ABOULABBAS AHMED AL-MANSUR
    5TH Emir of Morocco 1578 – 1603
    Vizirs: his servant MOULOUD (MAWLÛD); ABDELAZÎZ BEN SAÏD ELMEZOUÂR (ABD AL-AZÎZ AL-MAZWÂR*), known as the *OULD MAULÂT-ENNAS*; ABÛ SÂLIM IBRÂHIM AS-SUFYÂNÎ; ALÎ BEN MANÇÛR ACH-CHAYDAMÎ; and ENNÂSIR BEN ALI BEN CHAQRA (AN-NÂCIR BEN ALI BEN CHAGRA).
    Secretary: ABÛ FÂRÈS ABDELAZÎZ BEN IBRAHIM ELFICHTÂL "*ABDELAZIZ ELFICHTÂLI*"
    Caids: IBRAHIM ESSOFIANI; MOUMEN BEN MOLOUK, *le renégat*;
    Marrakech cadi: ABOULQÂSEM BEN ALI ECCHÂTHIBI (ACH-CHÂTIBÎ); ABÛ ABDALLAH MOHAMMED BEN ABDALLAH ERREGRAGUI, nicknamed *BOU ABDELLI*.
    Fez cadi: ABÛ MALEK ABDELOUÂHED BEN AHMED ELHAMÎDI
    Timbuctoo cadi: ABÛ DJAAFAR OMAR BEN ELÂQEB ESSENHÂDJI
    Provosts: ABOULHASEN ALI BEN SELIMAN ETTAMELI.
    Chief of police: MOHAMMED BIN MOHAMMED BEN ELHASEN, nicknamed *ELMISMAR*
    a. MOHAMMED ES-SHEIKH *EL-MAMOUN; aka* ABDUL ABDALLAH MOHAMMED III
       1st Emir of Fez (1603 – 1613); *Vice-regent* of Fez for ZAYDAN (1608 – 1613)
       1. ABDALLAH II; *aka* ABDALLAH BEN ECCHEIKH BEN ABOULABBAS ELMANSOUR

2nd Emir of Fez (1613 – 1623); d. 1623

2. ABD AL-MALIK IBN ABDALLAH; *aka* ABDELMALEK BEN ECCHEIKH BEN ABOULABBAS ELMANSOUR

    3rd Emir of Fez (1623 – 1627); d. Aug-Sep 1627

3. MOHAMMED BEN ECCHEIKH BEN ABOULABBAS ELMANSOUR, nicknamed *ZEGHOUDA*; challenged ABDALLAH II; occupied Fez July & August 1619; occupied kasbah at Fez immediately after death of Zaydan; killed by cousin ABOUL ABBAS AHMED, 1st Sultan of Fez, on 16 June 1628.

b. ABÛ AL-HASAN 'ALI

c. ZAYDAN EN-NASIR; *aka* ZAYDAN AN-NASSER BEN AHMED; d. 20 September 1627

    1st Sultan of Marrakech (1608 – 1626) First to formally adopt title Sultan
    1st Sultan of Morocco (1626 – 1627) first ruler of Morocco to use that title
    Viziers: Pasha MAHMOUD and YAHIA ADJÂNA ELOURÎKI
    Secretaries: ABDELAZIZ ELFICHTÂLI and
        ABDELAZIZ BEN MOHAMMED ETTSAÂLEBI
    Caid: MOHAMMED ESSENOUS
    Cadi: ABÛ ABDALLAH ERREGRÂGUI

1. ABOUL ABBAS AHMED; known as *AHMED*

    1st Sultan of Fez (5 November 1627); killed cousin *ZEGHOUDA* 16 June 1628.
    Imprisoned in palace at Fez-la-Neuve on 12 August 1628.

2. EL-WALID IBN ZAYDAN; *aka* AL-WALID IBN AHMED AL-MANSOUR AL-DHAHABI

    3rd Sultan of Morocco (1631 – 1636)
    Viziers:
    Cadis: ABÛ ABDALLAH ËLNIEZOUÂR ELMERRAKOCHI;
        AÏSSA BEN ABDERRAHMAN ESSEDJETÂNI.

3. MOHAMMED ESH SHEIKH ES SEGHIR; *aka* MOHAMMED ECCHEIKH, MOHAMMED IV

    Revolted against ABDELMALEK (1628) and EL-WALID (1631); imprisoned both times.
    4th Sultan of Morocco (1636 – 1655)
    Viziers: YAHIA ADJÂNA ELOURÎKI and his son
        MOHAMMED BEN YAHIA ADJÂNA (also CAÏD).
    Cadis: AÏSSA BEN ABDERRAHMAN ESSEDJETÂNI;
        ABÛ ABDALLAH ËLNIEZOUÂR ELMERRAKOCHI, *aka*
        MOHAMMED ELMEZOUÂR.
    Secretary: MOHAMMED BEN ABDERRAHMAN??

4. AHMAD AL-ABBAS

    5th Sultan of Morocco (1655 – 1659)
    Murdered 1659 by maternal uncles of the Chebâna tribe who placed their kinsman ABDELKERÎM BEN ABOU BEKR ECCHEBÂNI ELHARZI on the throne.

5. "SEMEN" brother who revolted against EL-WALID and was beheaded

6. ABÛ MEROUAN ABDELMALEK; *aka* ABÛ MARWAN ABD AL-MALIK II 'youngest son'

    2nd Sultan of Morocco (1627 - 1631)
    Viziers: MABMOUD BACHA, *le renégat*; DJOUDER ADJÂNA
        ELOURÎKI; and YAHIA ADJÂNA ELOURÎKI.
    Marrakech cadi: AÏSSA BEN ABDERRAHMAN ESSEDJETÂNI.
    Marrakech mufti: the jurisconsult AHMED ESSALEM.

d. ABDALLAH BEN MANSOUR: known as *EZZOBDA*; sent by ZAYDAN in 1613 to confront army of ABÛ MAHALLÎ.**

e. ABÛ FARIS ABDALLAH

6th Emir of Marrakech (1603 – 1608) 'youngest son'

* *Mazwâr* (Amazigh): means *1st*; used to designate the tribal *Cheikh*/*Sheikh* (chief). For the Banû Zayyân it meant *viceroy* or supreme chief of the army. The *Mazwâr* in the Sa'adian palace served as chamberlain, directing protocol, supervising the royal guard, and serving as an intermediary between king and subjects.

**AHMAD ABÛ MAHALLI *aka* AHMED IBN ABÛ MAHALLI married ZAYDAN'S mother in 1613 and had himself declared *Sultan of Marrakech* in that year; killed 1614.

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